The arrival of the young wife, tara·s, in the husband's village is cele- 585
brated again with slaughtering, a greeting to which she is entitled (cf. [601]
folk tale, LVIII).

Today only a few Hottentots could afford several wives, as ancient 177
custom allows, because of their impoverishment. Also the relationship 595
between the sexes has deteriorated to such an extent that it is not neces-
sary for a man to have the intimate relationship with several wives of-
ficially sanctioned.

2. Intra-Family Relationships

a) In the relationship of husband and wife, the honored position of the 593
wife differentiates the family of the Hottentots clearly from that of the 171
Hereros. The woman is considered the mistress of the hut in all house- 562
hold matters. Thus under certain circumstances she has the right to 462
refuse her husband the right to enter the hut. She manages the food sup-
ply. Her husband asks for milk and she gives it to him. In addition, the
fact that she does the most important job in the household of a herdsman,
namely the milking, differentiates her from the wife of a Herero. The
honored position of the woman in the marriage relationship does not pre-
vent occasional quarrels in which the husband makes full use of his physi-
cal superiority.

Only barrenness lowers the esteem of a wife permanently.

b) The relationship of the parents, //gũ·ǂra, to the children, ǂgõ·an, 854
Caring for small children, aba·, is naturally the mother's business. She [601]
carries her child on her back in a lamb skin called //hani·b (see Plate X).

"//Haniba !kxara !", i.e. Drag the aba skin after you!" is shouted to 854
little children when they sneeze (sĩ). In other cases I heard the mother 866
wish the sneezing child "!oǂman kxao !," i.e. "push your rear !" ("-an
seems to be a reflexive particle). Both wishes refer to the eagerly-awaited
first attempts of the child to walk. The baby tries to get up from its
helpless sitting position on the floor and at first always falls back again
on its rear. When it can walk, it drags the aba skin, which it has by then
outgrown, after itself and uses it as a toy.

[300] The parents assign each child, even grown ones, a certain cow 855
for its use ("maĩam, i.e., placing to the mouth). The child may only 422
milk for itself this one cow, ǂ/bes, mornings and evenings. During the
day, when the cattle are in the pasture, he is served what is left of his
milk. Likewise those who are married sometimes get four or five cows [585]
from their parents.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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only temporary, and nowadays the period of its duration is often shortened to only a few weeks or even days. On the return of the man to his own people, his mother is required to slaughter an animal as a sign of welcome to his wife, who then reciprocates the gesture in the same way. Neglect on the part of the mother-in-law to provide this welcome is regarded as implying unfriendliness towards the young wife.[1]

The status of the wife in Hottentot society is far from being that of an inferior. Although as a rule she plays a subordinate rôle in matters pertaining to tribal life, and in public always walks several paces behind her husband, yet her position in the household is supreme, and the education of the children is wholly in her hands. She is regarded as the mistress of the hut, which she brings with her at marriage, and of all its contents. She even has the right in certain circumstances to forbid her husband to enter it. She has her own property in cattle, some given to her by her parents while she was still a child, others when she was married, and her husband will not venture to sell or slaughter an animal belonging to her without her consent or in her absence. Even if he intends to barter his own stock he usually first consults her, and during his absence she also controls the pasturing of the herds. She supervises or herself does the milking which provides the household with most of its food, and controls all the provisions, allotting to each his food according to status and age, and brooking no contradiction. Her husband may not even take a mouthful of milk without first obtaining her permission, and should he do so, says Hahn, his nearest female relatives will put a fine on him, consisting in cows and sheep, which are to be added to the stock of his wife.[2]

All the Hottentot tribes formerly permitted polygamy. It seems, however, to have been practised to only a slight extent, and as a rule only the more powerful and wealthy men appear to have had more than one wife. In any case the number of wives seldom exceeded two or three. Each wife had her own hut, in which she lived with her children, and had also her own property. The first wife married, however, was the chief wife, and took unlimited precedence. Her

[1] Hahn, *Tsuni-||Goam*, 18; Wandres, "Die Khoi-Khoin oder Nama," 318; Kohler, "Das Recht der Hottentotten," 343–4; von François, *Nama und Damara*, 214; Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 297, 518; Hoernlé, *Rickerveld*, 16.

[2] Kolb, op. cit., 46; Hahn, op. cit., 19; Schultze, op. cit., 299; Schinz, op. cit. 82; Wandres, "Ueber das Rechtsbewusstsein . . . der Hottentotten," 279; Olpp, *Angra Pequena*, 25–6; *Report on the Natives of South-West Africa and their Treatment by Germany* (Cmd. 9146), 71.

Delivery.

844 Birth-giving among the Naman is, in normal circumstances, a carefully prepared event.[1] Towards the end of her pregnancy the woman as a rule goes back to the home of her mother, and even when this is not the case, her mother is usually summoned to be present at the birth. Delivery itself takes place in the woman's hut, from which, during labour, all men are excluded. An old woman well versed in the art of midwifery is called in to supervise. For her services she [562] receives a fee of two goats, if the child is a boy, and only one if it is a girl—a notable expression of the superior value attached to boys. The mother of the pregnant woman and a few of her female relatives are present to lend assistance.

As soon as the first sharp pains commence, the labouring woman turns on her left side, where she is kept in a half-erect, half-lying position, her shoulders and back supported against the knee of one of the attendants, her head bent forward on to the breast, and her legs sharply bent. It would mean death to the child if she were to lie on her back or with legs outstretched. Delivery is effected with the aid of the midwife, who manipulates the fœtus until it has safely emerged from the womb. The umbilical cord is tied half-way with a thread of sinew or wood fibre, and cut through above this by the midwife. The part attached to the baby is left until it gradually comes away by itself. No special significance seems to attach to the umbilical cord, nor to the placenta, which, however, is buried in the ground.

The newborn baby may not be washed with water. It is cleaned with a dry skin, rubbed all over with fat, then laid on the ground, [E78] wrapped in another skin. A salve of fat and powder made of burned ostrich egg-shell is always kept at hand, and with this the baby is streaked on the forehead, temples, and nose. The fontanelles also are thickly smeared with it, to prevent the entry of disease. Among the 853 Hottentots of Little Namaqualand the milk of the mother's breast is not regarded fit for the child until about the third day after birth. Till then the baby is given goat's or cow's milk, unless another woman can be found, already weaning her own child, who is able to give it her breast. Failing the latter resource the artificially-fed baby, when at last put to its mother's breast, is often already too weak to suck with success. Schultze, who records this custom, offers no explanation for it. It will be remembered, however, that a similar usage was noted

[1] Schultze, op. cit., 217–23; Schinz, op. cit., 97; von François, op. cit., 214–15.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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others, however, said that the child became a *gebo aob* (seer).[1] Misshapen or deformed children, on the other hand, especially girls, were, according to some writers on the Cape Hottentots, buried alive in the hole of some animal or exposed, lest they should bring ill luck on the community; while the death of the mother in childbed usually also meant the burial with her of her living baby, unless some other woman could be found to suckle it.[2]

Twin births among the Naman are to-day regarded as unlucky, but the children are not killed, nor are there any special ceremonies connected with them. Often the mother cannot rear them both, when one of the mothers-in-law or a sister helps her.[3] There is evidence enough in the literature relating to the Cape Hottentots, however, to show the former existence in this division of special usages connected with twins. Graevenbroeck remarks simply that if a woman bears twins, one of them, especially if a girl, is either exposed as a prey to wild animals, or on a bush, or even buried alive, the reason for this custom being the inability of the mother to rear them both.[4] Kolb, on the other hand, gives a detailed description of the manner in which twin births were greeted.[5] If the children are boys, he says, the parents observe an *andersmachen* or feast by killing two fat oxen for the entertainment of the whole kraal, who all rejoice at the birth as a great blessing. But if they are girls there is little or no rejoicing, and only a couple of sheep at the most are slaughtered. Often enough, in such a case, the parents will refuse to rear both children, and pleading either poverty or the scarcity of the mother's milk, will do away with the worse featured of the two by burying her alive or exposing her on the bough of a tree or among the bushes. Similarly, if the twins are of opposite sexes, the girl will be exposed or buried alive, while great rejoicings are made for the boy.

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In this connection it may be recalled that the motive assigned by Kolb to the custom of excising one testicle is the fear of the women that if they were to have intercourse with a man who had not had this operation performed upon him they would bear twins. There is nothing in Kolb's account, however, to show that the father of twins has to undergo any special treatment at the birth, as one might expect

[1] "Social Value of Water," 520; cf. Schultze, *Namaland und Kalahari*, 220.
[2] Graevenbroeck, op. cit., 365; Fritsch, *Eingeborenen Süd-Afrika's*, 334; Sparman, *Voyage to the Cape*, i, 359.
[3] Schultze, op. cit., 223; private information from Mrs. Hoernlé.
[4] Op. cit., 365.
[5] Op. cit., 66–8; cf. Fritsch, loc. cit.; Ten Rhyne, "Account of the Cape of Good Hope," 842; Thunberg, *Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa*, ii, 195.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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of the stock. The rights of the guardian cannot be interfered with by the chief or the tribal council, but as he is always closely watched by the other relatives he cannot easily appropriate anything in an illegal manner. When a childless couple die, the estate goes to their parents, those of the husband having first claim. When the parents are also dead, the chief divides the estate among the more remote relatives of the deceased, the following order of preference being observed: husband's eldest sister's children, husband's brothers, husband's sisters, wife's sisters, husband's brother's children, children of the husband's remaining sisters, wife's sisters' children. The brothers of the dead wife, Wandres remarks, do not inherit, since, according to the ideas of the Naman, they belong to another family. A portion of the estate is also claimed by the chief, in return for his supervision.

These traditional laws of inheritance can only be departed from if a man during his lifetime stipulates that after his death certain of his goods are to be given to his *sore*-companion, friends, more remote relatives, etc. This voluntary testament, *gus*, must be made orally before witnesses, and is usually abided by conscientiously, although the chief has to see that the nearer relatives do not suffer by it.[1]

It is doubtful to what extent this formulation of the laws of inheritance can be relied upon. It is certainly far more elaborate than that given by any other writer, and should therefore probably be regarded as more accurate. But the statement that all children inherit in equal shares does seem at variance with the honoured position of the oldest brother among the Naman, and the other writers, as we have seen, all state that the eldest son is the principal heir. The information about oral wills, again, also stands in need of confirmation. Here the lack of definite case-histories of inheritance once more makes itself felt, as concrete examples would have enabled one to clear up the discrepancies in the different statements of the laws of inheritance. The general trend of the information is to show that a man's eldest son is the principal heir, and that the other children inherit to only a minor degree. Apparently both men and women can acquire property in this way, and the possessions inherited are held individually.

[1] Wandres, op. cit., 683–5; Vedder, op. cit., 145.

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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643 [554] Every Nama tribe has its own hereditary chief, *gao-aob*, more commonly known nowadays by his Dutch title "kapitein". His official insignia, also a sign of Dutch influence, is the *gao-heib*, a long wooden staff with an iron or brass knob at one end. The successor to the office, under normal circumstances, is the eldest son of the last chief, and as such he is usually accepted without question by the tribe.[1] [562] If he is a minor his father's brother or some other near relative in the male line acts as regent, although one instance is recorded, in the case of the Gei //Kauan, of a woman reigning on behalf of her young brother until he came of age.[2] Women, however, never succeed of their own right to the chieftainship. Failing a son, the late chief's eldest surviving brother or brother's son takes his place. A chief has the right during his lifetime, owing to advancing old age, ill-health, or any good reason, to abdicate in favour of his heir. This, however, is an entirely personal right which he cannot be compelled to exercise against his will. There is no mention of special ceremonies observed at the accession of a new chief.

643 645 The chief, although hereditary, and as such commanding great respect and influence, is bound to act in terms of the advice and resolutions of his councillors. Every tribe has a definite tribal council, "Raad," consisting of the chief ex-officio and of members elected at a mass meeting of the married men of the tribe. There is no information available as to the methods of election. The number of these elected councillors, "Raden," varies from tribe to tribe. The Bethanie Hottentots had twelve of them, the Swartboois nine, and the Witboois from fifteen to twenty. From their midst are appointed the senior officials of the tribe, such as the sub-chief ("onderkapitein"), magistrate ("magistraat"), war commandant, chief field cornet ("hoof veldkornet"), and later, as Christians, the elders 643 887 of the church ("ouderlings"). In addition to this formally-constituted council, the older members of the tribe, qualified by age and experience, have the right to be consulted on all important public

[1] Tindall (op. cit., 42) and, following him, Fritsch (op. cit., 365) say that the heir to the chieftainship is usually the youngest son. This is inaccurate. The notorious Jonker Afrikaner, who, on account of his personal qualities, was designated by his father Jager to succeed to the chieftainship of the Afrikaners (//Aixa //ain), was not the oldest son, and therefore in Hottentot eyes he was not entitled to become chief. The smaller part of the tribe supported him but the majority did not, and in consequence the tribe was split up, the various families settling down in different places, while Jonker with his adherents later moved into South-West Africa. (Cf. Frey, "Jonker Afrikaner and his Time," *J. S.W. Afr. Sci. Soc.*, i, 19.)

[2] Vedder, op. cit., 115. Cf. Hahn (*Tsuni-//Goam*, 19): "If a chief died, it often happened that his energetic wife became the *gau-tas* (contracted from *gautaras*), the ruling woman—i.e. the queen of the tribe—in place of the son who was not yet of age."

2: Schapera E-4, 5 (no date) 1930
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the Bushmen, where indeed, save among the Namib groups, it cannot be said to exist at all.

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Personal disputes or grievances of a minor character were settled among the Cape Hottentots[1] by the two parties themselves, either in verbal argument or more often by means of a hand-to-hand fight. No one took any heed of such quarrels except the women, who, in order to prevent their resulting in serious hurt or manslaughter, would intervene between the two men and ask them to stop. It was regarded as a serious disgrace if the men ignored this request and still continued to fight.[2] In more serious cases the matter was referred to a court consisting of the "captain" and all the adult men of the kraal, with the exception of those directly affected by the dispute. As soon as any complaint was made to the "captain", say about the disputed possession of cattle, he summoned all the men to a convenient open space outside the kraal, where they all sat round in a circle. The plaintiff and the defendant, together with their witnesses, were then given full hearing, each party conducting his own case. The councillors thoroughly examined the statements on both sides, and after discussion the decision was reached by the vote of the majority. The verdict was pronounced by the headman, and the party in whose favour it went obtained full possession of the disputed property. In cases of assault and bodily hurt the same procedure was followed, and damages awarded in cattle in proportion to the injury received. Offences such as murder, manslaughter, treason, theft, incest, adultery, and sodomy, regarded as crimes punishable by death, were also tried before this council. As soon as a man was known or suspected of having committed such an offence, every member of the kraal considered it a duty to arrest him at the first opportunity, unless he succeeded in making his escape. Once captured he was safely held until the council assembled, which was always as soon as possible. The councillors sat in a circle, and the accused was placed in the centre, where he could hear all that was said and himself be heard by everybody around. The accuser then stated his case, and produced all his proofs, supported by witnesses. The prisoner, in return, offered all means of defence the case would suggest, advancing any contradictory evidence at his command, and his answer

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[1] Kolb, op. cit., 136–9, 46; cf. Fritsch, op. cit., 322.

[2] Some light perhaps is thrown upon this statement by the fact that among the Naman, as we have noted, a woman can generally be relied upon to stop any fight in which her brother, either own or classificatory, is taking part. The sanction here is the respect due to a sister by her brother.

3: Hoernlé E-5 (1912-1913) 1918 FX13 Hottentot FX13
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Bay, where there are no cattle nowadays, with ground !naras pips, goats' dung, and fat. Next, her whole body is rubbed with !naop, and the hair is cut from the top of her head. In cutting off a bit of her hair, they spit on the end of it and say, "The next husband you get must be a lucky one, and get him quickly." The woman also puts on a complete set of new clothes.

All this time there is a pot on the fire in the hut with a small piece of meat in it which the old woman has fetched from the cooking pots. She takes some of the black from this pot, and puts a mark under each eye, "so that everything the widow meets may be nice to her", and also on the chest, "so that her food may go down nicely". The meat in the pot is eaten by the old woman. The hair which was cut off is mixed with the ash of the fire, and the whole is then removed from the hut and a fresh fire made. The next morning the widow will take the */drup*, "contents of the animal's stomach", and, together with the old woman, who goes in front, will scatter them over the cattle kraals saying, "*deiba /aba*", "let there be plenty of milk". There follows the milking of a cow, the reintroduction to water, the fetching of wood, just as in the case of the ǂaχais.[1] The water ceremony was described to me as follows by !Kabes. First the old woman sprinkles the widow with water saying "*Xaré dama kaure ≠aba ≠abare*", "don't get thin, get fat like the *≠aba* onion". Then they go together to the spring, where the old woman takes a stick, beats the water, and scatters it on the widow. She also dips her hand in the water, and sprinkles the widow's face and her whole body. Finally she puts clay on her legs saying again, "Xaré dama kaure ≠aba ≠abare", and, filling the water pot, *//ho-ǂa*, she sets it on the widow's head. Then they go home.

If it is a woman who has died, the treatment of the husband is much the same, but Gottlief gave me a few additional details. After the husband has been cleaned, two cuts are made on his forehead, and *//ubus*[2] juice is rubbed in. In the old days, as mentioned above, the cut was made with the //gurǂa, a new piece being broken off for each occasion. The widower's hair is cut from the back of the head, also with the //gurǂa. Before he has been cleaned in this way he must not leave the hut. After the hut has been cleaned, some dabi and //ghnab tree branches are soaked in water over night. Next morning the widower and his attendant go out among the cattle and sheep, and sprinkle them with this water.

When a child has died, both parents become !nau, and have to be dealt with similarly.

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I am fully aware how incomplete and indefinite these notes are in many details. It may well be that there is still some chance of filling in the gaps, especially for some

[2] A small shrub with astringent leaves.

[1] [ie. A young marriggable woman. See cat. 116, pp. 72 ff. -Analyst]

5: Vedder M-5 (ca. 1910) 1928
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marriage and what should be contributed to the reception: 584
or the young man chooses for himself and then the engagement does not consist in asking her and her saying "yes" but in an action. The young man bashfully points a little stick at the girl of his choice. When she takes the stick, breaks it in two and throws the part broken off at his breast, the question is settled and they understand each other.

No matter how the engagement came about—from the day of the betrothal "separation-period" sets in. The engaged couple dare not meet each other, under no circumstances speak to each other and have to avail themselves of certain other people who have to tell the one what the other has to say. Such a period may sometimes be of considerable duration.

2. The marriage ceremony is as a rule celebrated in the 585
house of the parents of the bride in the form of a sumptuous meal, which is paid for either by the parents of the bridegroom alone or contributed to by both pairs of parents.

When after the marriage the bride comes to the village where the bridegroom stays—which may be days or even weeks after the marriage took place—another feast is held.

Since the majority of the Nama have turned to Christianity 585
the old customs have more or less ceased to exist. Christian 178
customs have been amalgamated with ancient traditional forms, whereby now the Christian and then the old characters appear at the wedding ceremonies.

3. The position of the woman among the Nama is by no 562
means that of the devoted servant of the man. According 593
to old custom the hut belongs to her and she disposes of everything within it. When in need of something the man has to approach his wife entreatingly and not imperiously. But since the old-fashioned huts which were covered with [342
rushes by the women have more and more been displaced by 423]
the modern houses, which the man builds with material for which he has laboured, the woman is being pushed into the background. The abode now becomes the property of the man and there is danger that the consequence will be ill-treatment of the woman. Whether a marriage is permanent 586
or not depends entirely on the relatives for when there are 602
among them those who blow a fire from the sparks of a small difference of opinion, it is easily broken, and the woman returns to her relatives. When on the other hand all the relations are friendly and work against a separation, such 595
a marriage is as a rule permanent. Polygamy was not uncommon with them in olden days, but under the influence of Christianity such cases are exceptions.

4. As soon as symptoms of pregnancy become visible the 843
husband has to devote special attention to his wife. In the first place he is obliged to appease her wishes for special food in order not to endanger the new life. The older women interest themselves so much in the expectant mother that

7: Laidler D-5 (ca. 1925) 1928
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THE MAGIC MEDICINE OF THE HOTTENTOTS.

BY

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Read 4 July, 1928.

Abstract.

753 755 757 Graevenbroeck (1685) and Kolben (1736), who is supposed to have copied most of his information from the first named, both give interesting accounts of the manners and methods of the Hottentot Medicine Man. There was evidently a classification, such as still exists in S.W. Africa and Namaqualand, of disease into minor and major troubles. Minor sicknesses were treated by the herbalists; in the major diseases the first step [787] was consultation with the witch doctor. Divination by examination of the entrails of a slaughtered animal was used. ● [562] There were distinct differences in the treatment of women and men. Much of the treatment was mere trickery such as sucking with the mouth of pieces of bone out of the back, and other such methods in which sleight of hand was useful.

755 All of the old observers from Graevenbroeck to Campbell in 1815, corroborate the noise cure, that is, that after medicines had failed, the patient was shaken, reproached for his intention of leaving this world by fair speeches and foul, and was thumped to keep life in him while the many helpers shrieked and howled. If he died during treatment, the noise was redoubled. After recovery an andersmaken or transition rite was undergone by the fortunate patient.

164 [177] After the advent of the white man, small pox, measles and less cleanly illnesses swept the country like plagues. Previous to the new comers' appearance, the common diseases were sore [846] breasts, ophthalmias and umbilical hernias, the last named due to the use of fat on the new born baby's umbilical cord which 757 retarded drying. Coughs appear to have been common, but there are no ancient Hottentot remedies for rheumatism, venereal disease, or tuberculosis; those for the last two diseases are of quite recent origin. Those used for phthisis are used on the score of analogy; the chief symptom is a cough, therefore, those remedies used for simple coughs are given. For the wasting of advanced tubercular disease there is to-day one outstanding [824] item, Kattendoorn root, the roots of which spread out horizontally beneath the surface of the ground, as do the veins beneath the skin of a muscular man. Therefore, it must, by Hottentot

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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The women live more sparingly; they are not allowed beef, nor fresh milk, but mutton occasionally. So much do they despise the women.

But gluttons as they are they are not without intelligence. Their minds are wonderfully powerful in remembering a kindness or an injury, fearless of danger, confident in themselves, and contented with their lot. Whether they are urged by dire poverty or blessed with a prosperous flock, they are always the same. But if one of the more distinguished should be living in want, they are touched by a slight feeling of pity (and in the setting of their enormous vices this virtue flashes like a jewel) and contribute a sheep or a calf to the man bereft of flocks and herds. When they have once formed an opinion they are very slow to change their minds. They do not covet gold or silver like other mortals; in truth the desire of riches exists only where they are in use; and ignorance of vice is often of more service among them than knowledge of virtue among other people. To sum up they afford a clear proof that even a mild climate can produce monstrous dispositions.

Among this savage and depraved people some are distinguished for shrewd and subtle understanding. I have spoken for instance with three Hottentot women: one, Aeva[24]), was a civil, modest body, of rational discourse, who, being pretty well acquainted with the Dutch and Portuguese tongues unfolded to me many secrets of her race; the second, Cornelia, having exchanged her impious ignorance of

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too, named Eva, long ago taken from the African brood in her tender childhood by the Hon: van Riebeeck, and educated in his house as well as brought to the knowledge of the Christian faith, and being thus transformed from a female Hottentoo almost into a Netherland woman, was married to a certain Chief Surgeon of this Residency, by whom she had three children still living, and some others which had died. Since his death however at Madagascar, she had brought forth as many illegitimate ones, and for the rest, led such an irregular life, that for a long while the desire would have existed of getting rid of her, had it not been for the hope of the conversion of this brutal aboriginal, which was always still hovering between. Hence in order not to be accused of tolerating her adulterous and debauched life, she had at various times been relegated to Robben Island, where, though she could obtain no drink, she abandoned herself to immorality. Pretended reformation induced the Authorities many times to call her back to the Cape, but as soon as she returned, she, like the dogs, always returned to her own vomit, so that finally she quenched the fire of her sensuality by death, affording a manifest example that nature, however closely and firmly muzzled by imprinted principles, nevertheless at its own time triumphing over all precepts, again rushes back to its inborn qualities" (D., July 29, 1674). The entry for the following day tells us that "the body of the deceased Hottentoo, Eva, was, notwithstanding her unchristian life, buried to-day according to Christian usage in the church of the new Castle".

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
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religion for Christianity, married a Dutch surgeon, and now lives a scandalous life, having been often banished from the Fort[25]); the third was called Sarah, and she hanged herself in despair because a loose Dutchman, in order to have free enjoyment of her, promised her marriage but failed of his word[26]).

CHAP. XV.

Their Habits.

These lawless barbarians and immoral pagans practise only those habits to which a blind impulse of nature irresistibly impels them. They take the same position in sitting as a foetus enclosed in the mother's womb, bowing the head upon the knees and embracing it with the elbows. They despise the female sex. They mourn their dead with lamentations for three days, both men and women sitting round the hut of the deceased. They dig a grave to inter the corpse, and cover it with a stone. Abandoned as they are to every vice, they practice the rite of Venus *a posteriori;* the woman rests upon her side higher up than the man, while he reclines in the hollow that serves him for a bed. Thus after the fashion of the beasts they rush on their mutual embrace.

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years before his arrival at the Cape! An inquest was duly held, but its report is unfortunately too long to be quoted here in full. It is reprinted in Moodie's *Records*, pp. 215-16, to which reference may be made by those curious to ascertain the contemporary attitude of the court towards suicides. The entry in the official journal omits most of the sermonising reflections of the court, but is sufficiently interesting to justify reproduction: "This morning, very early, came to our ears that a certain Hottentot girl, about 24 years old, who had since her early childhood, been respectably educated here by civilised burghers, carefully taught the Dutch language, and trained in burgher manners, had, without our being able to discover any reasons, hanged herself in the sheep pen of a certain burgher by means of her 'cabaij' band. An inquest was held on the body by the Fiscal, in the presence of Commissioners, but no wounds were found on the body, so that she died from suffocation . . . . According to resolution of the Council, the body of the female Hottentoo was towards evening dragged by a donkey to the gallows, and there, as a loathing of such abominableness, placed with the head in a fork, and hanged between Heaven and Earth." (D., Dec. 18, 1671.) *Three weeks later* the Journal contains the following further entries: "Discovered this morning that the fork on which the female Hottentoo had been hanged had been taken down and fallen over. Careful inquiry failed to discover the author" (Jan. 10, 1672). On the following day, "Towards evening, in order to carry out the sentence, the above-mentioned female Hottentoo was again lifted on the fork." (Jan. 11, 1672.)

9: Ten Rhyne D-5 (1673) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

Their officers they call, after our fashion, Captains.[33] They differ from the rest, so far as dress is concerned, only in the splendour of their kaross. In arms the difference is very slight. The native equivalent of a sword is a club, and the common soldiers carry one with knots at the top, the officers one without. But the difference in authority and in the numerous body-guard is great: the captains always have five, six, or more of the older men to attend on them.[34] In this way they resemble the ancient Romans, who entrusted counsel to age, arms to youth.

The Most Noble Society has now but one enemy, Honnema and his people.[35] From him, shortly before my arrival, our men, at the Governor's instance, took a booty of more than 1,000 oxen and cows, not to mention sheep.[36] By this they were greatly emboldened to face the probability of being soon again despatched against these people. The two auxiliary officers, Captain Claes and Captain Cuyper, collected forces to this end, wherewith to reinforce our men. In war the Hottentots use the following procedure: Women serve as ambassadors; if they are captured, they are restored without ransom.[37]

CHAP. XVII.

Mode of Buying and Selling.

Since all their riches consist in cattle we carry on no trade with these natives except in cattle. This is done in the following way:[38] Our Governor sends to them one or more experienced traders, accompanied by a few soldiers, with a supply of tobacco, that is, Virginian (called by them *boubaes tabak*), in very small quantity, for they never ask

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[33] This term was introduced by the Dutch, who called the headman of every large Hottentot kraal "kapitein" (a practice later adopted by the Hottentots themselves), and on entering into alliance with him gave him a copper-headed cane, which henceforth was regarded as a distinguishing badge of authority.

[34] These men would be the council of elders who assisted the chief in governing the affairs of the tribe.

[35] See above, p. 111.

[36] This refers to the punitive expedition sent against Gonnema in July, 1673, which returned with a booty officially estimated at 800 cattle and 900 sheep. (D., July 25, 1673.)

[37] In April 1677, the overseer of the Dutch outpost at Hottentots Holland reported that "several of the women of the hostile Gonnema tribe had come to the kraal of Captain Claas, to treat for peace" (Moodie, *Record*, 349), which would seem to confirm Ten Rhyne's statement.

[38] Ten Rhyne's account of the cattle-trade is supported in the main by the contemporary records, although it contains some details not found in the official documents.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot

133 There is a river a day's journey from the Cape, fed by many streams, which with a gentle motion pours its waters into the ocean near Saldanha Bay.[23]) Several times in crossing this I have caught the smell of sulphur. It was 000 like the smell I remember encountering in the year 1673 in Latium in the open country, when I was on my way from Etruria, on the right of the Via Flaminia not far from Civita Vecchia. After my departure from the city, I hear, this region was shaken by an earthquake and almost overthrown. May the Gods avert the omen, and falsify my fears, so that no similar disaster may at any time fall suddenly upon these heedless, unprepared colonists, and that we may not see here a second Aetna, or some Vesuvius to rival its fires, bursting forth in a moment. Though assuredly my own experience of the preludes to such disasters makes it clear that a deadly prodigy like this portends no good. Oh, that I may be a false prophet of evil, and that the Gods above may bring it about that by timely expiations, humble purification, and acts of propitiation we may experience an averting Jove who will lay aside his angry but not inexorable bolts! Pardon the digression.

778 A certain Dutchman whose word I can trust assures me
782 that he has never passed a certain rock a mile or two distant from his farm, without observing the natives who accompany him pluck a branch from some shrub or tree hard by and strew it upon the ground as a sacred offering.[24]) Being asked the reason for this act they replied, without further explanation, that it was the custom of their ancestors from of old and long in use among them, and that they took it very ill that our countrymen should foully insult their worship by disburdening their bowels in this sacred spot.

One or two natives have told me in addition that at annual gatherings at a fixed place and date under a shady rock they offer tribute of sacrifice as if to an oracle. But on this point I shall speak more at large below.

562 Their women, who are wonderfully complaisant, and no
[582] less chaste, they abuse like cattle or slaves, making them bear loads upon their backs, and they keep them under
291 a harsh and rigid discipline. From ankle to knee their legs are bound with a close series of loops and thongs,

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23) Probably the Berg R.

24) A similar usage was noted as far back as 1655 by Corporal Willem Muller (see above, p. 77). The "rock" to which G. refers was probably one of the "graves" of Heitsi Eibib, one of the outstanding figures in Hottentot mythology and belief. Cf. above, "General Introduction," p. xiii, and Schapera, *op cit.*, 383 ff.

10: Grevenbroek F-5 (ca. 1694) 1933
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Cape Hottentot
South Nguni FX17

and on no other ground and for no other reason, as it seems to me, than that they may be deprived of the opportunity of running away, or spending the night abroad, or wandering farther than is right from the hut, by being hampered with this weight of bonds, as if wearing greaves.[24a]) For the women have an unfailing curiosity, the satisfaction of which is with careful foresight baulked by these shackles.

Whenever the women go abroad for exercise or to get food, they carry upon their backs a knapsack, bag, or wallet, sometimes with a baby sitting in it; and, looking hither and thither, they collect anything they can, either by extortion from those they meet upon their way, or by digging in the fields with a lever three feet long made of iron, or sometimes of wood with a pointed spike at the tip.

Among the Magosi[25]) parents allow their daughters to have sexual intercourse with strangers. This promiscuous cheapening of their person is regarded as polite, and complete shamelessness (I beg pardon of chaste and delicate eyes and ears) is called good manners. But the price of the sin must be paid, which is some brooch or ornament for hand or finger made of brass or iron, or nine or ten glass beads, or other like womanish toys or gauds; and they must likewise exercise care not to practise their wanton sports in presence of the parents, nor utter shameful, coarse or obscene words, nor pass the bounds of modesty and respect. How ill the parents brook any such offence and how weightily they view such faults may be judged from their grim, averted looks, their frowning brows, their scrupulously guarded ears, and precipitate retreat. For though they have much family affection and are passionately devoted to their children, they are filled with shame at such faults and shrink away from them.[26]) You would not easily find anywhere in the world parents, who without the least wish to make a profit out of them, have a deeper love and respect for their children. No money, no price will tempt them to sell them into slavery to strangers.[27]) Freemen despise the price of servitude.

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in Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, iii, 64). The verbal embroidery is all G.'s.—The custom to which reference is made here is probably that known to the AmaXhosa as *ukumetsha*, a form of unconsummated sexual intercourse practised by unmarried boys and girls (Soga, *The Ama-Xosa*, 113 ff.).

27) "It would be impossible to obtain slaves here, for they will not for anything in the world dispose of their children or any of their relations, having an outstanding love and regard for one another" (Godée-Molsbergen, *op. cit.*, 65).

13: Kirby R-5 (1931-1932) 1932
FX13 Hottentot FX13
Korana

but if they got the proper material for him he would show them (he called them " boys ") how flutes should be made. I shall have more to say about old Daob when discussing stringed instruments and vocal music. 534 115

The reeds were kept by one man who acted as the leader in the reed-dance. A case made of a piece of a tree trunk hollowed out by a curved iron tool was used for keeping the reeds in. This hollow wooden case was suspended by a *riem* from the branch of a tree, so that the flutes might be kept in shade. They were not kept inside a hut since the heat of the fire would tend to dry up the plugs and tubes. But whenever the reeds got too dry for use, they would be thoroughly soaked in water. Should a reed split, it could often be made usable, if not too far gone, by being " whipped " with wet rushes, which, when dry, drew the edges of the crack close together. In place of the wooden flute-case a bag of cowskin was often used 534

Women never played the reed-flutes (this directly contradicts Stow); only grown men might perform upon them. Immediately after they had passed through the *doro* or initiation ceremony, the boys would be taught the steps of the reed-dance, and how to play upon the flute. The leader, who was called *!khon!a !hausab*, was the teacher. The men, having been provided with their reed-flutes by their leader, would stand in a circle, and would move round, dancing, counter-clockwise. The men's dance steps involved a leaping movement. The women formed a wider circle outside that of the men, and executed a graceful tripping measure quite different from that of the men, and moved in the opposite direction. Occasionally, however, they would roll their buttocks about in characteristic manner. The flutes were sounded in succession, beginning with the highest in pitch, which was played by the leader. The women clapped their hands in time to the music of the flutes. Owing to the fact that a proper set of flutes was not obtainable, I was unable to arrive at the pitch of the various pipes, but a curious point arises in this connection of which I shall speak when describing the songs of the Korana. 533 562 868 535

The names given to the first four flutes were as follows. 534

(1) *ǂkho:ǂkho:s*
(2) *!namis*
(3) *geiǂa:s*
(4) *tuxana*

The meaning of the third of these names is " the big reed," which particular flute appears to function as a kind of " tonic," since from it the

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

All the Khoikhoi tribes use the expression *Taras* for woman. We have still the name of *Tradouw*—*i.e.*, *Tara-daob*—for a mountain-pass not far from Swellendam. *Taras* is the woman, as ruler of the house, the mistress; it is exactly the Middle-High-German *vrouwe*. The root *da* or ta means to conquer, to rule, to master, and the suffix *ra* expresses a custom or an intrinsic peculiarity. *Taras* is also a woman of rank, *a lady*. In every Khoikhoi's house the woman, or *taras*, is the *supreme ruler*; the husband has nothing at all to say. While in public the men take the prominent part, at home they have not so much power even as to take a mouthful of sour milk out of the tub, without the wife's permission. If a man ever should try to do it, his nearest female relations will put a fine on him, consisting in cows and sheep, which is to be added to the stock of the wife. In the house the wife always occupies the right side of the husband and the right side of the house.

If a chief died, it often happened that his energetic wife became the gau-tās (contracted from gautaras), the ruling woman—*i.e.*, the queen of the tribe—in place of the son who was not of age. Thus, the name of an old queen, Xam|hās, who ruled the Cauquas (|Khauas) at the time of Simon van der Stell, in the present Worcester district, in the valleys of the Breede river, has been handed down to us, and her descendants now live on the outskirts of the Kalihari, where they still rule the tribe, who left the Colony seventy years ago. I mean the Xam|ha, or so-called Amraal-family, ruling the Gei-|Khauas of Gobabis. Here I must mention a peculiar old custom common to all Khoikhoi tribes, and which proves how well the conjugal ties were already established before the Khoikhoi separation. 'All the daughters are called after the father and all the sons after the mother. Thus, if the father is *Xam|ha-b* and the mother is *‡Arises*, the sons are—

1. ‡Ariseb geib—*i.e.*, ‡Arise the big one, or the eldest ‡Arise.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

559 2. ǂAriseb ǂkhami, ǂArise the younger one.

If there are three sons, then the following appellative or cognominal distinctions are made:

1. ǂAriseb geib.

2. ǂAriseb ǀnaga-māb—*i.e.*, ǂArise the-lower-standing, *i.e.*, the second.

3. ǂAriseb ǂkhami. ǂAriseb the younger one or the youngest.

If there are four sons, the denomination runs thus:

1. ǂAriseb geib.

2. ǂAriseb ǀnaga-māb.

3. ǂAriseb ǂkhami.

4. ǂAriseb ǀnagā-mā-ǂkhami.

If there are five sons, the denomination is like the preceding, where there are four; the fifth one is called ǂgaob, and if it is a daughter ǂgaos, which means the "cut off." And if there are more than five sons, mere cognomina such as ǂnūb, the dark one, ǀhaib, the fawn-coloured one, ǀawab, the red one, ǂnubub, the short one, gāχub, the tall one, &c., are used.

In exactly the same way the daughters are called after the father; for instance, Xam-ǀhab being the father, the suffix *s* of the feminine gender is simply put in place of the masculine *b* and we thus receive:—1. Xam-ǀhās geis. 2. Xam ǀhas ǀnaga-mās. 3. Xam ǀhas ǂkhams, &c. This custom will guide us, when in the sequel we have to explain the relationship of mythological persons. There is, for instance, ǀUrisib, the son of Heitsi-eibib. Our old storyteller did not give us the name of the wife of ǀUrisib. But from knowing her son's name to be ǀUrisib, we quite correctly infer that her name certainly was ǀUrisi-*s*.

591 234 562 The eldest daughter was highly respected; to her was entirely left the milking of the cows. This was in accordance with the respect shown to the female sex in general. There is a nice charming little song illustrating this.

14:Hahn L-5 (ca. 1870-1880) 1881 FX13 Hottentot FX13

Ti χamas! My lioness! 542

!Gaibista ǂaste! Art thou afraid that I will bewitch 539
thee?

Gomasa ke ǂausi ǁgunî !omasi!

Thou milkest the cow with a fleshy hand—*i.e.*, with a soft hand.

Natere! Bite me—*i.e.*, kiss me!

ǂGabi-ǂkhatere! Pour for me (milk)!

Ti χamas! My lioness.

Gei khoits ôas! Great man's daughter.

The uncle always calls his niece, the brother's or [601]
sister's daughter, "*Ti χamas*," my lioness.

The highest oath a man could take and still takes, was 542
to swear by his eldest sister, and if he should abuse this 541
name, the sister will walk into his flock and take his 577
finest cows and sheep, and no law could prevent her 576
from doing so. A man never can address his own sister personally; he must speak to another person to address the sister in his name, or in absence of anybody, he says so that his sister can hear, "I wish that somebody will tell my sister that I wish to have a drink of milk," &c., &c. The eldest sister can inflict even punishment on a grown-up brother, if he omits the established traditional rules of courtesy and the code of etiquette.

The art of making mats (ǂgaru-ti) and of bending poles 174
(ǂhana-gu) for their beehive-shaped mathouses was common to all Khoikhoi; and pottery, and the manufacture of milk-vessels (ǂhoe-ti), and wooden dishes (ǂoreti), and wooden basins and bowls (a-χu-ti or ǂgabi-ti), must also have been established before their pre-historic migration took place, for the substance of which their pots are made is the same, clay and ground-quartz. I have frag- [172]
ments of pots dug from the shores of the Southern Cape Colony, and from the outskirts of the Kalihari, which in shape and substance show no difference; and the Namaquas of the present day still make pots in the old 323
style, though traders sell to them iron pots very cheap

(ǂgi ǂâ-s, to boil, to cook ǂâi).